

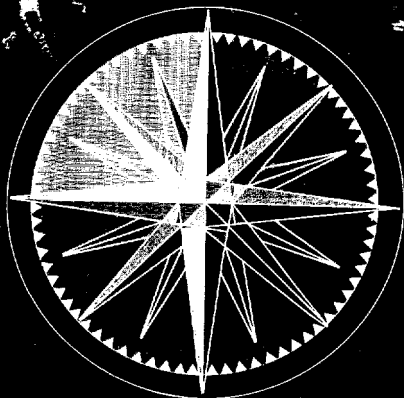
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SPECIAL REPORT

CHANGES IN CENTRAL APPARATUS OF SOVIET PARTY SINCE KHRUSHCHEV

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
OFFICE OF CURRENT INTELLIGENCE

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CHANGES IN CENTRAL APPARATUS OF SOVIET PARTY SINCE KHRUSHCHEV

A substantial reorganization and restaffing of the Soviet Union's central party apparatus--the secretariat and its executive staff--have virtually erased the innovations introduced by Khrushchev, in his latter years. Khrushchev had made the changes to promote greater responsiveness to his policies, but their actual effect was to unsettle and antagonize the party professionals who had once been his main source of support. This contributed importantly to his overthrow.

Brezhnev and Kosygin have restored the former structure of the party's executive headquarters and are carrying out a major personnel shake-up. This restaffing is not yet as extensive as that carried out in the post-Stalin period, nor has it seemed to be a case of packing the headquarters staff with the personal appointments of any one leader. The job is not complete, however, and further changes can be expected before the 23rd party congress convenes on 29 March.

The Party Machine

The party's professional staff includes, in addition to the central Secretariat and some 30-40 executive departments, a highly disciplined hierarchy of subordinate secretariats and apparatuses in each of the republics, oblasts, and lesser administrative divisions of the country. The central Secretariat ranks second only to the Presidium in political importance, and on occasion has even seemed to overshadow the latter. Unlike the Presidium, which is solely a policy-making body and has no administrative functions, the Secretariat is the administrative or executive head of the

party machine in much the same sense as the Council of Ministers is the administrative head of the government bureaucracy.

The Russian Republic (RSFSR) does not have its own secretariat like the other republics but is administered directly by the central party organization. This is done through a Bureau for the RSFSR, which apparently acts as a combined presidium and secretariat for this largest and most important of all the republics. The exact relationship between the Secretariat and the Bureau for the RSFSR is not completely clear, but the fact that the Bureau is headed by whoever is party first secretary at the

SECRET

SECRET**PARTY SECRETARIAT****SECRETARY****PROBABLE FIELDS**
(OBVIOUSLY INCOMPLETE)**SENIOR GROUP**
(Also members or candidates
of the Party Presidium)**13 OCTOBER 1964**
(Five of Khrushchev's ouster)**15 FEBRUARY 1966**

Khrushchev, N. S.	1st Secretary; Head of the Secretariat	////
Kozlov, F. R.	Inactive; Permanently Physically Incapacitated	////
Brezhnev, L. L.	2nd-in-Command; General Supervision in the Secretariat and Its Staff	1st Secretary; Head of the Secretariat
Podgorny, N. V.	Supervisory Responsibilities in the Secretariat and Its Staff	Inactive; Assigned to the Post of Titular Chief of State
Shelepin, A. N. (Also see below under junior group)	(See below under junior group)	2nd-in-Command; General Supervision in the Secretariat and Its Staff
Suslov, M. A.	CPSU Relations with Foreign Communist Parties; Coordination of the World Communist Movement; Doctrinal Questions	(No Change)
Demichev, P. N. (Also see below under junior group)	(See below under junior group)	Propaganda and Ideology
Ustinov, D. F.	////	Defense Industry and Space Effort

JUNIOR GROUP

Andropov, Yu. V.	CPSU Relations with Sino-Soviet Bloc Communist Parties	(No Change)
Ponomarev, B. N.	CPSU Relations with Non-Bloc Communist Parties	(No Change)
Shelepin, A. N. (Also see above under senior group)	Party-State Control	(See above under senior group)
Demichev, P. N. (Also see above under senior group)	Chemical and Light Industry	(See above under senior group)
Rudakov, A. P.	Heavy Industry and Construction	Industry and Construction
Ilichev, L. F.	Propaganda and Ideology	////
Polyakov, V. I.	Agriculture	////
Kulakov, F. D.	////	Agriculture
Titov, V. N.	Party Organization and Functions; Personnel Questions	////
Kapitonov, I. V.	////	Party Organization and Functions; Personnel Questions

61138

SECRET

SECRET

time appears to be adequate insurance against uncoordinated activities. Close working relationships seem to exist between RSFSR departments and the corresponding departments of the central Secretariat.

The central apparatus, in conjunction with its provincial counterparts, exercises centralized control over appointments in all fields of Soviet life; it gathers information, prepares reports, and provides general supervision over organs of government, "independent" societies, and even individuals to assure adherence to party decisions and state policy. Its wide access to information of all kinds, its discipline and secrecy, together with its manifold opportunities for influencing policy, make it one of the most formidable instruments of power in the country. Control of the party machine through the central Secretariat was a decisive factor in the rise of Stalin and Khrushchev to power and no doubt will be an equally vital factor in post-Khrushchev politics.

Khrushchev had fashioned the Secretariat, the RSFSR Bureau, and subordinate staffs largely into instruments of his personal authority. It is not surprising that the greatest number of changes made since his ouster have been in the areas of party organization and staffing, propaganda and ideology, and agricultural administration, where his hand had been heaviest.

Changes in the Secretariat

On the eve of Khrushchev's ouster, the Secretariat consisted of three active senior secretaries, in addition to Khrushchev, and eight junior secretaries, the distinction being that the senior secretaries were also members of the Presidium while the junior ones were not. In the first few months of the new regime the junior secretaries in charge of agriculture, propaganda and ideology, and party organization and staffing were removed. Their places were eventually filled by two new junior secretaries--one for agriculture and one for party organization and staffing--and by combining the functions of two of the secretaries in the industrial field. Petr Demichev, one of the two secretaries for industry, was promoted to the senior category by election to the Presidium and put in charge of propaganda and ideology. Aleksandr Shelepin was also promoted to senior secretary status. Frol Kozlov, who for a year and a half had been incapacitated by a stroke but had been formally carried on the Secretariat by Khrushchev, was dropped.

The Secretariat assumed special responsibility for defense and space with the transfer of Dmitry Ustinov from the Council of Ministers--where he had done the same work--to be a senior secretary in charge of defense industry and space effort. Nikolay Podgorny, at one time apparently second in command in the Secretariat under

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THE CENTRAL PARTY MACHINE
13 OCTOBER 1964
(EVE OF KHRUSHCHEV'S OUSTER)

SECRETARIAT

SECRETARIES		FIRST SECRETARY			
L. I. Brezhnev	F. R. Kozlov	N. V. Podgorny	M. A. Suslov	Yu. V. Andropov	P. N. Demichev
L. F. Ilichev	V. I. Polyakov	B. N. Ponomarev	A. P. Rudakov	A. N. Shelepin	V. N. Titov
K. P. Chernyayev					

ADMINISTRATION OF AFFAIRS

COMMISSIONS AND BUREAUS

COMMISSION FOR ORGANIZATIONAL-PARTY QUESTIONS	IDEOLOGICAL COMMISSION	BUREAU FOR CHEMICAL AND LIGHT INDUSTRIES	BUREAU FOR INDUSTRY AND CONSTRUCTION	BUREAU FOR AGRICULTURE
CHAIRMAN V. N. Titov	CHAIRMAN L. F. Ilichev	CHAIRMAN P. N. Demichev	CHAIRMAN A. P. Rudakov	CHAIRMAN V. I. Polyakov

DEPARTMENTS OF COMMISSIONS AND BUREAUS

PARTY ORGANS V. N. Titov?	IDEOLOGICAL L. F. Ilichev? PRAVDA P. A. Satukov KOMMUNIST	CHEMICAL INDUSTRY ? LIGHT AND FOOD INDUSTRY AND TRADE P. I. Maksimov	DEFENSE INDUSTRY ? HEAVY INDUSTRY ? MACHINE BUILDING A. Ye. Biryukov CONSTRUCTION A. Ye. Biryukov TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS K. S. Simonov	AGRICULTURE V. I. Polyakov? AGRICULTURAL RAW MATERIALS PROCESSING INDUSTRY M. G. Lushin
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OTHER DEPARTMENTS

GENERAL V. N. Malin CADRES ABROAD A. S. Panyushkin?	ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANS N. R. Mironov FINANCE AND PLANNING ORGANS? ?	MAIN POLITICAL DIRECTORATE, SOVIET ARMY AND NAVY	ECONOMIC COLLABORATION WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES B. P. Miroshnichenko	LIAISON WITH COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES Yu. V. Andropov?	INTERNATIONAL B. N. Ponomarev?
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SCHOOLS AND INSTITUTES

INSTITUTE OF MARXISM-LENINISM P. N. Pospelov	HIGHER PARTY SCHOOL N. R. Mitronov	ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
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BUREAU FOR THE RSFSR

FIRST DEPUTY CHAIRMAN A. P. Kirilenko	CHAIRMAN N. S. Khrushchev	FIRST DEPUTY CHAIRMAN L. N. Yefremov
MEMBERS G. G. Abramov	G. I. Voronov	N. G. Ignatov
V. S. Tolstikov	N. G. Yegorychev	G. V. Yenyutin

BUREAUS OF THE BUREAU FOR THE RSFSR AND THEIR DEPARTMENTS

BUREAU FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY AND CONSTRUCTION RSFSR

CHAIRMAN
A. P. Kirilenko?
IDEOLOGICAL
M. I. Khaldeyev
PARTY ORGANS
N. A. Voronovsky
HEAVY INDUSTRY, TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS
S. A. Baskakov
MACHINE BUILDING
?
CHEMICAL INDUSTRY
V. D. Belyayev
CONSTRUCTION
A. V. Gladyshevsky
LIGHT AND FOOD INDUSTRY AND TRADE
P. K. Sizov

BUREAU FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF AGRICULTURE RSFSR

CHAIRMAN
L. N. Yefremov?
IDEOLOGICAL
V. I. Stepakov
PARTY ORGANS
AGRICULTURE
I. S. Pankin
AGRICULTURAL RAW MATERIALS PROCESSING INDUSTRY AND TRADE
A. I. Tyasto

OTHER DEPARTMENTS FOR THE RSFSR

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANS V. I. Laputin	FINANCE AND PLANNING ORGANS? ?	SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA K. I. Zarodov
---	--	--

REGIONAL BUREAUS

CENTRAL ASIAN BUREAU
CHAIRMAN
V. G. Lomonosov

TRANSCAUCASIAN BUREAU
CHAIRMAN
G. N. Bochkarev

L. I. Brezhnev Red names indicate full member, Central Committee, CPSU.
V. N. Malin Green names indicate candidate member, Central Committee, CPSU.
Brown names indicate member, Central Auditing Commission, CPSU.

61138

SECRET

Brezhnev, is believed no longer active in the Secretariat following his appointment as chief of state. His functions presumably have been absorbed by the other secretaries, particularly, it is believed, by Shelepin.

The Secretariat in mid-February 1966 thus was composed of four active senior secretaries, in addition to Brezhnev, and five junior secretaries. Although fewer than a fourth of the secretaries have been outwardly unaffected by the changes since Khrushchev, the Brezhnev-Kosygin regime has brought in remarkably few new faces, and these men give little sign of being key factors in the political balance. Of the three new secretaries, only Ustinov seems to have had significant past connections with any current top leader. He and Premier Kosygin have had a fairly long and close working relationship, they are about the same age, and both call Leningrad "home" although neither has lived there for many years.

Changes in the Apparatus

Khrushchev had created, in the central apparatus, a number of commissions and bureaus as an extra echelon between the lower ranking executive departments and the Secretariat. He also established two bureaus within the Bureau for the RSFSR and two regional bureaus to coordinate party functions in the USSR's four Central Asian and three Transcaucasian republics. In addition, Khrushchev had also

created an "Ideological Department" in the central staff and two in the RSFSR Bureau, merging the former "Propaganda and Agitation," "Culture," and "Science, Higher Educational Institutions, and Schools" departments.

His successors abolished these new commissions and bureaus and split the Ideological Departments into their component parts, completely undoing the reorganization. Today, the central apparatus is organized essentially as it was before Khrushchev began his tinkering, although a few minor "adjustments" have been made by the new leadership.

The old "Party Organs" departments have been renamed "Organizational-Party" departments but with no apparent change in function. They continue to have primary responsibility for appointments and also for conducting the day-to-day operations of the party, the Komsomol (Communist youth organization), and the trade unions. Instead of the pre-November 1962 "Trade, Finance, and Planning Organs" department, there is now a "Trade and Everyday Services" department and, presumably, a separate "Finance and Planning Organs" department, although the latter has not yet been identified.

A widespread restaffing of leading positions in the apparatus is apparently under way. Some shifts have been a consequence

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SECRET**THE CENTRAL PARTY MACHINE**
15 FEBRUARY 1966**SECRETARIAT****SECRETARIES**P. N. Demichev
Yu. V. AndropovN. V. Podgorny
I. V. KapitonovA. N. Shelepin
F. D. Kulakov**FIRST SECRETARY**L. I. Brezhnev
M. A. Suslov
B. N. PonomarevD. F. Ustinov
A. P. Rudakov**ADMINISTRATION OF AFFAIRS****DEPARTMENTS****ORGANIZATIONAL-
PARTY WORK**
I. V. Kapitonov?**GENERAL**
?**PROPAGANDA
AND AGITATION**
V. I. Stepanov**PRAYDA**
M. V. Zimyanin**KOMMUNIST**
A. G. Yegorov**CULTURE**
V. F. Shauro?**SCIENCE AND
EDUCATIONAL
INSTITUTIONS**
S. P. Trapeznikov**ADMINISTRATIVE
ORGANS**
?**MAIN POLITICAL
DIRECTORATE,
SOVIET ARMY
AND NAVY**
A. A. Yepishev**ECONOMIC
COLLABORATION
WITH SOCIALIST
COUNTRIES**
?**LIAISON WITH
COMMUNIST AND
WORKERS PARTIES
OF SOCIALIST
COUNTRIES**
Yu. V. Andropov?**INTERNATIONAL**
D. P. Shevlyagin?**CADRES ABROAD**
A. S. Panyushkin?**DEFENSE INDUSTRY**
I. V. Kapitonov?**HEAVY INDUSTRY**
A. P. Rudakov?**MACHINE BUILDING**
A. P. Rudakov?**CHEMICAL
INDUSTRY**
V. M. Bushuyev**CONSTRUCTION**
A. Ye. Biryukov**TRANSPORT AND
COMMUNICATIONS**
K. S. Simonov**FINANCE AND
PLANNING
ORGANS?**
?**LIGHT AND FOOD
INDUSTRY**
P. K. Sizov**TRADE AND
EVERYDAY SERVICES**
Ya. I. Kabkov**AGRICULTURE**
F. D. Kulakov?**SCHOOLS AND
INSTITUTES****INSTITUTE OF MARXISM-LENINISM**
P. N. Pospelov**HIGHER PARTY SCHOOL**
N. R. Mitronov**ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**
V. N. Malin**BUREAU FOR
THE RSFSR****FIRST DEPUTY CHAIRMAN**
A. P. Kirilenko**CHAIRMAN**
L. I. Brezhnev**FIRST DEPUTY CHAIRMAN**
L. N. Yefremov?**MEMBERS**G. G. Abramov?
G. I. VoronovN. G. Ignatov
M. A. Yasnov

N. G. Yegorychev

V. S. Tolstikov
G. V. Yenyutin?**DEPARTMENTS FOR
THE RSFSR****ORGANIZATIONAL-
PARTY WORK**
?**PROPAGANDA
AND AGITATION**
M. I. Khaldeyev**CULTURE?**
?**SCIENCE AND
EDUCATIONAL
INSTITUTIONS**
?**ADMINISTRATIVE
ORGANS**
V. I. Laputin**SOVETSKAYA
ROSSIYA**
V. P. Moskovsky**HEAVY INDUSTRY,
TRANSPORT AND
COMMUNICATIONS**
S. A. Baskakov**MACHINE BUILDING**
I. I. Kozlov**CHEMICAL
INDUSTRY?**
V. D. Belyayev?**CONSTRUCTION**
A. V. Gladyshevsky**FINANCE AND
PLANNING
ORGANS?**
?**LIGHT AND FOOD
INDUSTRY AND
TRADE?**
?**AGRICULTURE**
XL. I. Brezhnev
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61137

SECRET

SECRET

of the organizational changes in the apparatus, but many are directed toward clearing out individuals who were considered too close to Khrushchev. Former Pravda editor Satyukov, who had been a member of Khrushchev's personal press staff, is an example of the latter.

There has been a clean sweep of the agricultural and the party organizational-staffing chiefs in both the central apparatus and the RSFSR Bureau. The chiefs for propaganda and ideology in the central apparatus have also been replaced.

As in the case of the secretariat, however, an outstanding feature of the restaffing is the relatively small number of new faces and a lack of discernible associations with a particular top leader. This conclusion may be subject to modification, however, since there may be as many as nine or ten department heads who have not yet been identified. Nevertheless, the heads of at least 12 of the some 30-40 departments remain unchanged and four others were simply transferred from one department to another. Three former chiefs were brought back and five deputy chiefs, all with several years of service in the apparatus, were promoted.

Only four or five of the currently identifiable department chiefs were not previously members of the central apparatus.

These include Fedor Kulakov, the new secretary for agriculture and head of the Agriculture Department, and Ivan Kapitonov, the new secretary for party organizational and cadres matters and head of the Organizational-Party Department. They had been provincial first secretaries and neither has had discernible political ties with any of the current top leaders.

Vasily Shauro, who heads a department, probably culture, had been a Belorussian party secretary since 1960, and Mikhail Zimyanin, the new chief editor of Pravda, had also once been a high official in Belorussia. Both he and Shauro thus have had a close working relationship with the former Belorussian party chief, Kirill Mazurov, who is now a member of the party Presidium and a first deputy premier; they may owe their present positions to him.

Georgy Pavlov, currently administrator of affairs--i.e., chief of the party's "GSA"--may also be a newcomer to the central apparatus. Until 1963 he was party chief of the Mari Republic, but his whereabouts for the past two years is unknown. He may owe his appointments to Brezhnev, however, since both have origins in Dneprodzherzhinsk in the Ukraine.

The only other new assignment in the apparatus which can be associated with a top leader is

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that of Sergey Trapeznikov, promoted from deputy rector of the Higher Party School to head the Science and Educational Institutions Department. Trapeznikov worked in Moldavia under Brezhnev when the latter was party boss there.

The changes made in the central party machine since Khrushchev thus do not reveal a clear pattern of political manipulation. The strengthening

of Shelepin's position on the Secretariat at Podgorny's expense has been the most notable development. There is little to show that Brezhnev has been using the power of appointment for personal advantage, although as first secretary and chairman of the RSFSR Bureau he is in a better position to do so than other leaders. Although there are several weeks between now and 29 March, the trend of changes so far does not suggest a sharp shift in the political balance at the forthcoming 23rd party congress. (CONFIDENTIAL)

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